[For an index of authors and works cited, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 822-827.]

[For full bibliographical references see category 116, 6: Spate AW1 India, entire source and bibliographical notes at the end of each chapter.]

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[For a regional division of the Indian sub-continent see Chapter XIII, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

[For a description and discussion of the structure and relief of the entire Indian sub-continent, see 6: Spate, AW1 India, category 116, pp. 3-36.]

[For general information on the distribution of various types of flora and its relation to climate and soil, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 63-92.]

128, 113

[For information pertaining to literary devices and conventions, abbreviations and explanations of numerations used by the author, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. xxi-xxiii, and xxv.]

[For a general discussion of animal husbandry in India, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 228-231.]

104, 113 Kerala AW11

[For definitions and explanations of native terms see Index, category 116, 6: Spate AW1 India, pp. 789-821.]

132, 113 Kerala AW11

[For a description of climate regions of the Indian sub-continent and its general effects on agriculture and health, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 40-62.]

134, 113 Kerala AW11

[For general information on the distribution of soil types in India see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 80-92.]

601, 113, 59, 58, 611, 428

[For information pertaining to the above categories, see 5: Karve AW1 India, category 116, pp. 252-270.]

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[Additional information specifically on Cochin and Travancore may be found in 29: Chitra, AW1 India, cat. 116, Section II, pp. 191-198, 235-244; Section V, pp. 142-148, 166-180; Section VI, pp. 13-14, 15, 83-84, 92-93, 100-105.]

113, 311, 651, 652, 623 Kerala AW11

/For data on Forest Panchayats and their finances, see 26: Rao, AW1 India, Tables 21-24, pp. 214-218, category 116.

[For information on the castes of Kerala see 33: Bhattacharya, AW1 India, category 116, pp. 106-108, 126 and 151-152.]

113, 185, 427 Kerala AW11

[For information on tenancy reform legislation in Travancore-Cochin see 39: Patel, AW1 India, category 116, pp. 345-350.]

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/For a comparison of statistical data and general information regarding employment and unemployment in the state of Kerala vs. India as a whole, see 11: India, AW11 Kerala File, category 116, pp. 206-215./

613 644 631 soldiers and Nayar women stationary in their villages. It was left to the British, with their introduction of a new highly specialized expanding economy with mechanized industry, to crack the system apart. This was essentially a small-scale feudal system - (the Zamorin's kingdom, at the height of its power, cannot have had more than 500,000 inhabitants) - and it depended on the existence of a fairly stable economy with the village as the basic social unit, self-sufficient for food. [101]

NOTES

162 [611] (1) In 1931 the matrilineal castes numbered roughly one-fifth of the total population.

(2) Muslims in 1931 numbered about 15% of the total population, being concentrated chiefly in the south of Malabar District. The first converstions to Islam were probably carried out in the ninth century by Arab traders who visited the coast. This community, called the Mappillas, increased greatly after the fourteenth century, but particularly during the Muslim invasions from Mysore in the 1760's. The Muslims of North Malabar District follow matrilineal descent with matrilocal residence; those of other areas follow patriliny. For a brief account of [113] North Malabar Muslim kinship see Gough, "Incest Prohibitions and Rules of Exogamy in three matrilineal groups of the Malabar Coast", in Int. Archives of Ethnography, June 1952.

The Christians of Kerala numbered about 20% of the population in 1931. The Syrian Christians,

162 the most numerous and ancient group, claim that their church was founded by St. Thomas. The Portuguese converted some of them by force to Roman Catholicism and also made many converts from the lowest Hindu castes. Christians are concentrated chiefly in Cochin and Travancore.

• 113 (3) For a fuller discussion of the meaning of this ceremony see Gough, "Female Initiation Rites on the Malabar Coast", forthcoming in J.R.A.I.

(4) E. Colson and M. Gluckman, Seven Tribes of British Central Africa (1951), p. 129. [102]

787 (5) Occasionally the astrologer may divine that
753 the spirit of a recent ancestress is causing sickness to women or children. An emergency propitiation of cooked food is then made to here in the ancestor-shrine.

769 (6) In a new house there may be no stool at all,
778 unless the house was built some time before the partition by a man who died before it became occupied by the new property-group, and who thus becomes its first karanavan-spirit. If there are no stools the members of the group go back to their parent-house for ancestral propitiations for one or two generations.

212 (7) Nayar women like men could traditionally read and write Malayalam, and keep accounts.

796 (8) Onam is a harvest-festival in September; Vishu the New Year's Day, in March; and Tiruvadhira, a women's festival to Kama Devan, the Hindu god of passion.

113 (9) Murdock, Social Structure, 1949, p. 10.

(10) From the Book of Duarte Barbosa, (Hakluyt

113 1921), p. 241.

(11) A. I. Richards, Some Types of Family Structure amongst the Central Bantu, in African Systems of Kinship and Marriage (Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, 1950).

582 (12) Matrilateral cross cousin marriage is preferred to patrilateral, since it harmonizes the conjugal interests of a man and his sister's son, the most rivalrous relationship between men. It is also of course possible with hypergamous unions, whereas patrilateral cross cousins unions are not. In one Cochin village 7.2% of living Nayar women had married the father's own or classificatory maternal nephew; 1.6% had married the own or classificatory mother's brother's son. [103] Taking the women of six lineages over five generations, 13.9% of marriages were to the father's nephew, 9.0% to the uncle's son. In Walluvanad division, South Malabar, of the women of nine lineages over five generations, 11.2% had married the father's nephew, 4.7% the uncle's son (own or classificatory).

613 (13) In Murdock's sense of a matrilineal, matri-
593 local unit with the husbands of the women as permanent residents. However, in a true matriclan adult male members of the matrilineage or matrisib would be living away with their wives whereas in the royal lineages princes lived at home and merely visited their wives nearby. In most naduvari and all lower subcaste lineages, women were visited only occasionally by their Nambudiri lovers who lived in their own households.

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If he wished, a girl's ritual bridegroom might later visit her as one of a series of husbands, but he had no prior claims and was not obliged to do so. The woman in turn owed no obligations to him except that at his death, she and all her children by whatever biological fathers must observe fifteen days of ritual pollution for him. Ritual pollution was otherwise observed only for matrilineal kin. Until modern times it was not observed by a woman and her children for a visiting husband who was not also the woman's ritual husband. In addition, if they knew him, a woman's children called her ritual husband by the Dravidian word *appan*, the term used for the father in the patrilineal castes. Their mother's visiting husbands they called by the Sanskrit term *acchan;* this word means "leader" or "lord" and was also sometimes applied as a title to village headmen and military leaders.

After the tāli rite and shortly before or after puberty, a woman might enter into a number of sexual relationships with men of her local caste group or of an appropriate higher caste. Similarly, a Nayar might visit a number of wives of his own or an appropriate lower Nayar caste. Among retainer Nayars, by far the majority of unions were between persons of the same caste. A very few favored women had husbands from the lineages of temple servants, village headmen, chiefs, or royalty, or from houses of Nambudiri Brahmans of relatively low rank. A smaller number of Nayar retainers had wives in the lower-ranking castes of Nayar temple menials, but not in the servant castes of Nayar washermen and barbers, which were endogamous.

It is not certain how many husbands a woman might have at one time; various writers [8] of the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries mention between three and twelve (Logan, 1951, I: 136–137). Others add that women "never refused themselves" to occasional Brahman or Nayar visitors of appropriate rank. It seems probable that each woman had a small number of husbands from her local caste group who, while their relationship lasted, visited her regularly, but that women also received occasional fleeting visits from itinerant Nayars of appropriate rank, perhaps mainly during military operations.

[8] See, for example, Abdu 'r Razzak (1441), Nicolo di Conti (1444), Hieronimo de Santo Stephano (1563), and Cesar Fredericke (1563), in Hakluyt Society Publications Vol. 22, 1857; Duarte Barbosa (1518) and Joao de Barros (early sixteenth century) in Dames, 1921, II: 124, 241; Ludovico di Varthema (1503–1508), tr. J. W. Jones, 1863; 146; Zein-ud-Deen (1579), tr. Rowlandson, 1833: 83; J. H. van Linschoten (1596) in Hakluyt Society Publications Vol. 71: 279; Pietro della Valle (1624), Hakluyt Society Publications Vol. 85: 579; Hamilton (1727), ed. Penzer, 1930, I: 310; Buchanan, 1807, II: 411.

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Act of 1947, moreover, low caste persons in general wish to enter the main court of the temple along with the higher castes and to propitiate the great deity. Alternatively, they build modern temples of their own dedicated to Sanskrit gods. They begin to shun the outer courtyards of temples populated by ghosts and devils and to leave these unpropitiated. Some Nāyars still believe that the lower castes have supernatural powers as sorcerers and lycanthropic witches, but believe that as the lower castes acquire education and "civilization" they voluntarily give up these powers. Others now deny that ghosts, witches, or sorcerers ever possessed powers at all.

All of these changes in belief and ritual are probably linked not only specifically to the collapse of *taravād* and caste as small birth-status groups, but more generally to the widening range of Nāyar social relations and to the relaxing of their former tight interdependencies in face-to-face relationships. As they move into a heterogeneous, mobile, urban setting composed partly of impersonal relationships with strangers, the Nāyars cease to regard the natural order as in all respects a moral order and cease to seek personal motives as the ultimate causes of misfortunes. The growth of scientific knowledge in schools and the spread of medical facilities also obviously influence beliefs about illness. This does not, of course, mean that the Nāyars and lower castes no longer require institutionalized modes of handling their aggressive impulses and their uncertainty in face of cosmic mysteries. In a few areas of living, new religious institutions have developed, which are outside the subject of this paper. In general, however, I think it is true to say that the scope of ritual beliefs and activities is shrinking[27] for Malabaris as a whole, and that as technology develops and new social arrangements become feasible, they concentrate more on the "how" of misfortunes, leaving the "why" to chance. Correspondingly, of course, conflict is increasingly handled through modern secular institutions (the law-court, the trades' union, the political party, the democratic election, etc.), which produce continuing social structural changes rather than serving to maintain harmony within traditional birth-status groups.

NOTES

[1] For a brief analysis of social change among the Nāyars, see E. K. Gough, "Changing Kinship Usages in the Setting of Political and Economic Change Among the Nāyars of Malabar," *Journal Royal Anth. Institute,* LXXXII (1952), 71-88.

[2] George P. Murdock, *Social Structure* (New York, 1949), p. 2.

[3] The Madras *Marumakkattayam* Act of 1933, and the Cochin Nāyar Act of 1937.

[4] Before the date of this Act, all division of ancestral property in a Nāyar *taravād* had been stirpital.

[5] For accounts of Nāyar propitiations of lineage ghosts, see E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* (Madras, 1909), V, 362-3; F. Fawcett, *The Nāyars of Malabar,* Bull. Madras Govt. Museum (Madras, 1901), III, No. 3, 245-253; K. M. Panikkar, "Religion and Magic Among the Nayars," *Man,* XVIII, No. 7 (1918); V. K. Raman Menon, "Ancestor Worship Among the Nayars," *Man,* XX, No. 3 (1920); R. K. Pisharodi, *Ancestor Worship in Kerala* (1923).

[6] Menon, 1920.

[7] M. J. Levy, Jr., *The Family Revolution in Modern China* (Cambridge, 1949), pp. 168-9.

[8] F. Freud, *Totem and Taboo,* trans., Jas. Strachey (New York, 1950), pp. 51-63.

[9] M. Mead, *Male and Female* (New York, 1949), pp. 297-304.

[10] M. E. Opler, "An Interpretation of Ambivalence in Two American Indian Tribes," *Journal of Social Psych.,* VII (1936), 82-115.

[11] A. Kardiner and Associates, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (New York, 1945), pp. 112, 118ff, 167; M. Fortes, *The Web of Kinship Among the Tallensi* (Oxford, 1949), p. 234ff;

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G. Roheim, *Psychoanalysis and Anthropology* (New York, 1950), pp. 134, 135, 432; F. L. K. Hsu, *Under the Ancestors' Shadow* (New York, 1948), pp. 240-243; Mead, 1949, pp. 40-41; J. W. M. Whiting and I. L. Child, *Child Training and Personality* (New Haven, 1953), pp. 263-304.

[12] Nāyar *Kāranavans* are of course not ancestors in the strict sense. However, I use this term for convenience as they fulfill roles similar to those of ancestors in many patrilineal societies.

[13] For an account of Īrava social organization and culture, see A. Aiyappan, *Iravas* and *Culture Change*, Bull. Madras Govt. Mus., 5 (1945).

[14] M. N. Srinivas, *Religion and Society Among the Coorgs* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 158-165.

[15] For a brief account of Tamil Brahman kinship, see E. K. Gough, "Brahman Kinship in a Tamil Village," *American Anthropologist*, XVIII, (1956), 826-853.

[16] See, e.g., Thurston, V (1909), 152-240.

[17] Fortes, 1949, p. 235.

[18] H. E. J. Stanley, trans., Duarte Barbosa, *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century* (Hakluyt, 1886), p. 15.

[19] R. Rowlandson, trans., Sheikh Zein-ud-deen, *Tohfut ul Mujahideen*. An Offering to Warriors Who Shall Fight in Defence of Religion Against Infidels (Hakluyt, 1883), p. 63.

[20] A. C. Burnell, trans., *The Voyage of John Hughyen Van Linschoten to the East Indies* (From the Old English Translation of 1598) (Hakluyt, 1885), p. 284.

[764] [21] All castes on the southwest coast bury or cremate the dead in the southwest corner of the ancestral garden. This custom contrasts with that of Hindus in the eastern districts, who burn or bury the dead on communal sites, each owned jointly by a caste community, outside the residential area of the village.

[566] [22] The castes of agricultural serfs are absent in Kottayam, agricultural labor being done by Īrava tenants or by the Nāyars themselves.

[23] This form of propitiation of alien ghosts in Kottayam is called a *teyyam tira*. It closely resembles the *kāranava tērē* of the neighboring Coorgs (Srinivas, 1952, pp. 158-165.) In Coorg, however, lower caste officiants impersonate the Coorg *taravād's* own ancestors. In Malabar, lower caste propitiants impersonate only alien ghosts attached to the Nāyar *taravād*.

[113] [24] Witchcraft (*odi*), a witch (*odiyan*). For a more detailed account of witchcraft, see Thurston, VI (1909), 36-41, 122-127.

[25] M. Gluckman, *Rituals of Rebellion in South-East Africa* (Manchester, 1954).

[26] Gluckman, *The Role of the Sexes in Wiko Circumcision Ceremonies. Social Structure*, M. Fortes, ed. (Oxford, 1949), pp. 145-167.

[114] [27] All of these statements apply to conditions in 1947-9. I observed no major changes in ritual activities during a brief revisit in 1952. The Malabar Coast, as the newly formed State of Kerala, [642] elected a Communist government in April 1957, and I have little information on conditions after that date.

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Ann Arbor, Michigan

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of particular impor-
tance is the ritual conducted in the case of barren women who seek divine intercession of the serpent gods. The afflicted couple come on a Sunday morning to the snake temple after a purificatory bath and after putting on new garments. They request the priest to conduct a propitiatory *puja* and offer flour to the deity. Thereafter, a bronze plate on which the name of the person is carved is placed inverted at a spot. After a year when they have been blessed with a child, they repair to the temple once more to offer thanks for the boon granted. The child is helped to lift the bronze plate and under it a small serpent is observed signifying that all is well. In the event of there being no snake underneath, it is taken as a bad omen predicting the death of the child. If even after ten years no child is born to the couple, the unretrieved bronze plate is discarded, on the presumption that the deity has not seen fit to grant the wishes of the devotees.

There is also a class of pious people who have through their devotion to, and worship of, the snake deity, acquired the art of curing victims of snake-bite. They are called *sarpa vaidyas* and cases of snake-bite are brought to them for treatment. The man chants certain magical formulae and tears a betel leaf in front of a pot of milk. The serpent is supposed to come out of hiding and to withdraw the venom, thus effecting a gradual cure.

But modern trends are contrariwise, and a gradual decline is discernible in the ritual of snake worship in a large majority of households which have snake shrines. Less emphasis is paid to the traditional worship of the serpent, and what little propitiation is done is more or less symbolic. Makeshift arrangements are often made, and worship by proxy is offered by the priest, in the absence of the family members, who merely pay a fixed sum to the priest for his labours, and thereby absolve themselves of the guilt of neglecting the snake gods.

Apart from simplification of the ritual of snake worship, yet another symptom of the decay of the cult appears to be the reduced importance that is given to the upkeep of the existing snake shrines. Many erstwhile sacred shrines are in a dilapidated condition. Perhaps in future, snake worship itself might become a thing of the past.

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2 Risley & Maclagan : *Glossary of Tribes and Castes of Punjab & N. W. F. P.*, 149.

3 Gurdon : *The Khasis*, 96-102.

4 Dubois & Beauchamps : *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, 641.

5 Hodson : *The Naithas*, 110.

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and other female friends of the girl then approach, and give sweetmeats to the couple. The girl then serves food to the boy, and after taking their meals together from the same leaf, they proceed to the pandal, where a cloth is severed into two parts, and each part given to the Manavâlan and girl separately in the presence of Enangans and other friends. The severing of the cloth is supposed to constitute a divorce."

If, as has been said, the "pâttu" sung by the Brâhmani, in "*Rig Vêdasvaram*" is in substitution for the Vêdas sung at the Nambûtiri's wedding—because the Vêdas cannot be used by any but Brâhmans—this part of the ceremonial seems to indicate imitation of the Nambûtiris. The Brâhmani is not however a "Brâhman lady" but merely represents one. In North Malabar she is of the Nambîsan caste.

The ceremony is much more analogous to that obtaining in the Bellary district and round about it, through which women, called Basivis, are, after an initiatory ceremony of devotion to a deity, compelled (under certain conditions) to follow no rule of chastity, but whose children are under no degradation, than to the initiation of the Dêvadâsi in her career of harlotry.* It must be said, however, that the ceremony, more especially as modified by poor people, when the Manavâlan is represented by a clay figure adorned with flowers, the handiwork of the girl's mother, looks very like it. But what demands consideration now is the position of Manavâlan to the bride. Does the ceremony confer on him any of the rights of a husband? There is much diversity of opinion on the point. Some say it does, while some say it does not. It seems certain that, as a rule, there can be no cohabitation between the two as a mere corollary of the tâli-tying ceremony. Should there be three girls in a family, *i.e.*, in the same taravâd house, aged, say, 9, 5 and 3, the ceremony is always done for all three at the same time. The only condition as to age of the girl is that the ceremony must be done before she reaches puberty. The bridegroom (to call him so) is selected after consulting agreement between his horoscope and the girl's. He is seated beside her in the marriage pandal, and he invests her with the tâli. They eat of the same plantain leaf (used as a plate throughout Malabar). They are placed in the same chamber, to go through the fiction

* An account of the Basivis, their devotion to deities, etc., by the writer will be found in the "Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay," Vol. II., 6 (1891).

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796 Pishâri Kâvu which represents one of moderate im-
114 portance and truly one of the people, and its narration is fairly complete. It seems to express the religion of the Nâyars as it is when not tacked on to that of the Brâhmans: as they formulate it of themselves entirely in their own way.

796 An important local festival is that held near Palghat,
184 in November, in the little suburb Kalpâti inhabited entirely by Pattar Brâhmans from the east; but it is not a true Malayali festival and it suffices to mention its existence for it in no way represents the religion of the Nâyar. The dragging of cars on which are placed the images of deities, common everywhere from the temple of Jagganath, at Pûri in Orrisa, to Cape Comorin, is quite unknown in Malabar excepting only at Kalpâti which is close to the eastern frontier of Malabar. The Kalpâti
782 festival is the only "car festival" in Malabar.

[131] Near Chowghât (Chavagât), about 30 miles to the
[346] southward of Calicut, on the backwater, an arm of the sea and separated from it by a thin strip of land between the rivers, at a place called Guruvayûr, is a very important temple the property of the Zamorin, yielding a very handsome revenue. I visited this festival on one occasion and saw there much which was of interest but which must find place in the account of regions of others
[126] than Nâyars. Here purchase was made of a few offer-
[532] ings such as are made to the temple in satisfaction of vows. A very rude representation of an infant in silver, a hand, a leg, an ulcer, a pair of eyes, and, most curious of all, a silver string which represents a man—the giver. Symbolization of the offering of self is made by a silver
[326] string as long as the giver is tall! Goldsmiths working in silver and gold are to be seen just outside the gate of the temple ready to provide at a moment's notice the object any person intends to offer, in case he is not already in possession of his votive offering.

The subject of vows can be touched on but incidentally here.* A vow is made by one desiring offspring, to have his hand or leg cured, to have an ulcer cured, to fulfil any desire whatsoever, and he decides in solemn affirmation to himself (it is not necessary to go to a temple for the purpose of vowing) to give a silver image of a child, a silver

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[113] * The subject of vows generally, including description of a Roman Catholic shrine at Cochin somewhat akin to that at Guruvayûr, was treated by me in an article which appeared in the 'Calcutta Review' for January 1899.

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Another pilgrim was a man wearing an oval band of silver over the lower portion of the forehead almost covering his eyes; his tongue outside his teeth, kept in position by a silver skewer through it. Had been fasting two years. Much under the influence of the god, and whacking incessantly at a drum in delirious excitement. The skewer was put in the day before, and was to be left in for forty days. Several of the pilgrims wore a handkerchief tied over the mouth, they being under a vow of silence. One poor man wore the regular instrument of silence, the mouth-lock (a wide silver band over the mouth, the ends reaching over the cheeks, a skewer through both cheeks keeping the ends together * and, of course, the mouth open); and he sat patiently in a nice tent-like affair, about 3 feet high. People fed him with milk, &c., but he made no effort to procure food, relying merely on what was given him.

Pilgrims generally go in crowds under charge of a priestly guide, one who, having made a certain number of journeys to the shrine, wears a peculiar sash and other gear. They call themselves pujâris, and are quite *au fait* with all the ceremonial prior to the journey as well as with the exigencies of the road. As I stood there, one of these pujâris stood up amidst the recumbent crowd. He raised his hands towards the temple a little to the west, then spread out his hands as if invoking a blessing on the people around him. Full of religious fervour he was (apparently at any rate) unconscious of all but the spiritual need of his flock.

The use of the mouth-lock is common with the Nâyars when they assume the pilgrims' robes and set out for Palni, and I have often seen many of them garbed and mouth-locked going off on a pilgrimage to that place.

Brief mention must be made of the festival held at Kodungallûr in the northernmost corner of the Cochin State, along the coast, as it possesses some strange features peculiar to Malabar and is much frequented by the Nâyars. Kodungallûr is near Cranganore, the old Dutch Settlement, where was, probably, the Musiris of the Greeks. Tiruvangaikalam, close by, will probably turn out to be the long lost site of the capital of the Chêra kingdom. I have been disappointed in obtaining particulars

* The mouth-lock is not peculiar to Malabar. A description of this form of vow in another part of the Presidency was made by me in the "Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay," Vol. II, No. 2 (1890).

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787 performance. As he ran, every now and then he cut his
796 forehead with the strange misshapen sword, pressing it
[785] against the skin and sawing (vertically) up and down. The blood streamed all over his face. Presently he became wilder and wilder, and whizzed round the lamp, bending forward towards the kalasam. Evidently some deity, some spirit, was present here, and spoke through the mouth of the Velichchappâd. This, I think, undoubtedly represents the belief of all who were present. When he had done whizzing round the kalasam, he soon became a normal being and stood before my camera.
[465] The fee for this self-inflicted laceration is one rupee and some odds and ends of rice, etc. I saw the Velich-
791 chappâd about three days afterwards going to perform
796 elsewhere. The wound on his forehead had healed! The careful observer can always identify a Velichchappâd by the triangular-like patch over the forehead where the hair will not grow, and where the skin is somewhat indurated. The Velichchappâds seem to get used to cutting their foreheads as the eels to skinning.

We shall find the oracle again when we come to the lower races. I have seen a fine demonstration of it amongst the Paniyans of Wynâd when engaged in a regular corrobboree. An extremely interesting example of this combination of this phase of the lower Dravidian cult which is in no way Hindu, with the Brâhmanic religion, is to be seen at Mailâr in the Bellary district. There the oracle is bound up with a story about Rishis and Asuras, an incarnation of Siva and Pârvati, and many thousands assemble yearly to hear the oracle delivered by a man on the top of a huge affair representing Siva's bow, speaking the words of the god.

769 Before concluding the subject of religion, allusion
782 must be made to the worship of ancestors. Cremation of the dead, as in the case of the Nambûtiris, is done in the garden or compound surrounding the Taravâd house, in the south or south-west corner of it; so the Nâyar has the ashes and spirits of his ancestors with him always. We have seen already how that pacification of the spirits of those who have passed from view, and who are in the land of the shades, pervade the lives of the living. They are worshipped every new moon day, but especially on the new moon of Karkitakam,* of Tulâm and of Kumbham

[113] * The names of the Malayali months have been given already—see Nambûtiris (Bulletin, Vol. III, No. 2).

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therefore one belonging to the community at large—in South Malabar, at any rate. The system of inheritance through females as it obtains amongst the Nâyars, relieves the woman from that undignified position which she occupies throughout the civilized world as the personal chattel of her husband. It gives her a relative superiority, and she carries this elsewhere. Coitus haud ita fit ut supina mulier viro morem gerat, immo etiam supino viro insidens illa, facie in eum conversâ genibusgue hic atqus illic dispositis negotium illud perficere solet. Hanc veneris figuram feminis ineundiorem, atque idcirco ab iis vindicatam esse perhibent periti. The well-known *jape* by which Iago hoped to arouse Brabantio into activity would be altogether inapplicable here.

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Two more excerpts from Mr. Gopal Panniker's little book will be made, with his permission, descriptive of the other two most important national or popular festivals of Malabar.

"THE VISHU FESTIVAL.

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"Vishu, like the Onam and the Thiruvathira Festivals, is a remarkable event amongst us. Its duration is limited to one day. The 1st of Mêtam (some day in April) is the unchangeable day on which it falls. It is practically the Astronomical New Year's Day.* This was one of the periods when in olden [651] days the subjects of ruling princes or authorities in Malabar under whom their lots were cast, were expected to bring their New Year's offerings to such princes. Failure to comply with the said customary and time-conscerated demands was visited with royal displeasure resulting in manifold varieties of oppression. The British Government finding this was a great [648] burden pressing rather heavily upon the people, obtained as far back as 1790, a binding promise from those Native Princes that such exactions of presents from the people should be discontinued thereafter. Consequently it is now shorn of much of its ancient sanctity and splendour. But suggestive survivals [182] of the same are still to be found in the presents (explained [431] further on) which tenants and dependants bring to leading families on the day previous to the Vishu.

"Being thus the commencement of a New Year, native superstition surrounds it with a peculiar solemn importance. It [777] is believed that a man's whole prosperity in life depends upon

* See Madras Museum Bulletin, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 57 and 58. [113]

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771 mixture of Hinduism with Buddhism,—the kâpâlika reli-
795 gion or cult, the novice in which is "taught how to
776 worship Bhaîri dêvam (Kâla Bhâirava) with human blood, by human sacrifice, by drinking liquor from a Brâhman's skull, and by wearing wooden earrings called Kâmâkshi kundala, symbols of the female principle." * The licentious portion of the programme I will leave out, as we can but glance at the Bhâiravan of other parts of Southern India. There, Bhâirava, or by whatever equivalent he may be called, is a male entity; in Malabar, where sex in deities is not of very much moment, Bhâirava is female. Bhadra Kâli, and even Vishnu under another name, is dragged into the category of evil spirits!

776 The first five of the good spirits are of course, well known. It is odd to find the terrible Bhadra Kâli bracketed with the genial Ganapati and reckoned as a good spirit. Some of the others are local spirits though rated along with emanations of Hinduism.

789 A point to be noticed here is that the magic which has been described is of that kind which is intimately connected with religion, in that the aid of spiritual beings is sought, and mischief is wrought by their means.

But there is, of course, another side of magic; the sympathetic, which deals in symbolic hurts and cures; of quite another character, being nothing more than a "misdevelopment of natural philosophy."

These divisions of magic, though tolerably distinct, are not therefore always separated. They are sometimes blended.

212 It was my good fortune, not very long ago, to acquire
789 possession of a couple of grandhas, or palm leaf books, the subject of which is ordinary magic and black magic. Like all works of the kind (these are in the Malayalam character) they are written in such a manner as to be quite unintelligible to the ordinary reader. Letters, symbols, syllables belonging to no known word are employed to express occult meaning. In fact it is more a memorandum than anything else. One of the grandhas is so obscure that translation of it is next to hopeless, for the few who can do so are altogether unwilling to help one to decipher it. The other is composed of Sanscrit and Malayalam words, spelled abominably; but though relatively clear for a book out of a "Mantravâdis" (Warlock's Magicians) library, it, too, contains many blank spaces which can only be filled up by the professional dealer in

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* From an article by the writer in the "Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay," Vol. I, No. 7, 1889.

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564 the Mamalukes of Egypt.[1] Camoens, the Milton of Portugal, described them in these lines :—

> "By the proud Nāyars noble rank is claimed ;
> The toils of culture and of art they scorn,
> The shining falchion brandished in the right,
> Their left arm wields the target in the fight."

175 As a matter of fact, the Nāyars as a military aristocracy have been famous ever since
564 Marco Polo travelled in Asia.
701 "In this region of Malabar," says Gaspar Correa, writing on the three voyages of da Gama,[2] "the race of Gentlemen is called Nairs who are people of war. They are people who are very refined in blood and customs and separated from all other people. So much do they value themselves that no one of them ever turned a Moor."

"Of these Malabars there are two manner of people (the one is) Noblemen called Nāyars which are soldiers and do only weare and handle arms and the other is the common people called Polayas. The Nayros must [in all places] where they go or stand weare such arms as are appointed for them and alwaies be ready at the King's commandement. . . . . .

"As these Nayros go in the streets they cry po ! po ! which is to say take heed I come, stand out of the way."[3]

175 Historical circumstances have also had their share in the abundance of material
439 which foreigners have left with regard to the Nāyars. Malabar was the seat of Arabic trade, and the Portuguese first landed at Calicut. During the hundred and fifty years of Portuguese power in India they had dealings mostly with the Zamorin of Calicut, the Rajah of Cochin, and the Deva Narayana, Rajah of Prakaud. That was the land from which spices came, and the Portuguese, therefore, were interested in the petty politics of these principalities. The Dutch, who followed them, also had their main interest on the mainland of India centred on Cochin, and in the first beginnings of English commerce, also, Malabar had a share. Apart from these a number of observant travellers has visited the seaboard of Malabar.

127 But though material of a kind is, therefore, abundant, it is found on closer
114 examination to be unscientific and unreliable. The Nāyar Society of the eighteenth century, or an age previous to that, cannot be reconstructed from the observations of either Duarte Barbosa or Vinschar. An accurate and scientific description of the state of society prevalent before European contact is possible only after a thorough and searching study of Nāyar literature. Camoens' description of the Nāyars as scorning the toils of culture is not true. Malayalam has an extensive

● 113 [1] Had they (the French aristocracy) been like the Mamalukes of Egypt or Nāyars of the coast of Malabar. (*French Revolution*, p. 148, World's Classics.)

[2] *Voyages of Vasco da Gama*, Hakluyt Soc., vol. i, p. 185.

[3] *Voyage of Linschoten to the East Indies*, translation of 1598. Edited by Hakluyt Soc., vol. i, p. 278 *et seq.*

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[p. 17]

The Nayar Family in a Disintegrating Matrilineal System[1]

CHIE NAKANE

University of Tokyo, Japan

Introduction

IN this short essay, I will present one case of the disintegration of a Nayar *tarwad* (matrilineal joint family), based on the materials collected by myself.

The general institutional system of a traditional Nayar *tarwad* is already well known, and has been much discussed recently by anthropologists, including K. Gough.[2] Here I state it briefly as a preface to the main discussion. A traditional Nayar *tarwad* was a property group consisting of a matrilineal lineage exclusively, headed and represented by the senior male member, called *karanavan*. Normally the members of a *tarwad* formed a distinguishable domestic unit. Spouses of the members of a *tarwad* resided in the *tarwad* where they were born, and a husband visited his wife at her *tarwad* at night and returned early morning.[3] The father had no duty or obligation on his own children, instead, the *karanavan* was the legal guardian of the offspring of the female members of the *tarwad*.

The Nayars are one of the Hindu upper castes in Kerala, next to the Nambudri Brahman, and traditionally the majority of the Nayars had been land holders or managers, not cultivators. On such a social and economic base, the function of the *tarwad* had been maintained. Various factors have led to the disintegration of the *tarwad* system, the major cause of which, I think, was the economic changes accompanied by modernization since the beginning of the

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1 This essay is one of the outcomes of my field work on matrilineal systems in India (1955–56) carried out by the generous grant of the Elin Wagner Foundation in Sweden, to which my profound acknowledgement goes. Also I am very thankful for the help of Dr. John Mogey.

2 E. Kathleen Gough: "Changing kinship usages in the setting of political and economic change among the Nayars of Malabar," *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.* 82, pp. 71–87; "A comparison of incest prohibitions and the rules of exogamy in three matrilineal groups of the Malabal," *International Achives of Ethnography*, Vol. XLVI, Part 1, 1952, pp. 82–105.

3 The *karanavan* was an exception: he could take his wife and children in his *tarwad*. In North Malabar, not only the *karanavan*, but also other male members used to take their wives and children to their *tarwad*. However, these wives, including children, had to leave their husband's *tarwad*, as soon as their husband died.

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Nayar

19th century. In this connection, I was much interested in studying court records and various documents, including *the Nayar Regulation II, 1925, Travancore*, and *the Malabar Marumakkathayam Act of 1933*, which legally marked the end of the functional Nayar *tarwad* system. Actual partition of an individual *tarwad* occured earlier, or later, than these acts.[1] However the present discussion is concerned mainly with the internal situation of the *tarwad* as it disintegrated, the discussion of external factors and causes of the disintegration of the *tarwad* are omitted.

The process of the disintegration of the *tarwad* can be summarized in terms of the essential elements which constitute the functional body of a *tarwad:*

A. members of a matrilinial lineage exclusively
B. co-residential (domestic) unit
C. property owning unit
D. headed by the *karanavan*
E. Ceremonial unit.

In the disintegration of the *tarwad*, the group loses these elements gradually. The element which is lost first seems to be *B*. A population which exceeds the limit of the accomodation of a *tarwad* building, results in residential separation of small segments of a matrilineal group who have the same grandmother, or grand-grandmother, called *tawari*. Such a group, residing in a separate household, in the course of time tends to develop as a temporal economic unit. Though the ancestral property is held in common by all members of the *tarwad* together, the residential sub-group would become a semi-independent productive and consumption unit: the income would not be pooled into the *tarwad* but consumed by the members of each group. Hence the function of the *karanavan* as the head of the *tarwad*, the property group, becomes incomplete.

At the same time, when the residential unit becomes smaller, it would give chances for the inclusion of spouses and the element A would be shaken. The cohabitation of wife and husband leads to the inclusion of nonmatrilineal members in a matrilineal residential group. These factors bring on economic and psychological confusion in the duties and obligations of a *tarwad* member. Thus, by the destruction of elements *A*, *B*, and *C*, the status of the *karanavan* becomes ambiguous. There occur various disputes between the *karanavan* and other members on the rights of the *tarwad* property.

This situation is enhanced by the fact that an increase of members who have an independent income without depending on the *tarwad* property, form an independent household with his wife and children. This situation makes it difficult to maintain the *tarwad* as a property unit, and also infringes the function of the *karanavan*. In fact the actual contribution of the father who was not the legal guardian of his children is significant in the failure of the role of the *karanavan* for the matrilineal members. Thus at last a *tarwad* has no alternative

1 A report of my study on these legal documents, including materials given in this paper, was published in Japanese: "On the disintegration of the Nayar *tarwad*," *Memoirs of the Institute for Oriental Culture*, University of Tokyo, Vol. 14, pp. 1–131, 1958.

Chapter 1

The Setting

KERALA IS THE smallest State in the whole of India.[1] It is a narrow strip of land along the western coast of India. It has an area of 14,992 square miles[2] and the coastal line is nearly 360 miles. The breadth of the State varies from 20 to 75 miles, as one moves from the extreme north to the middle. Its boundaries touch the State of Mysore in the north and that of erstwhile Madras in the east and south-east. It lies between 8°15′ and 12°45′N latitude and 74°50′ and 77°30′E longitude.

1.2 Kerala was created in 1956 at the time of the reorganization of the State through the integration of the erstwhile State of Travancore-Cochin and the Malabar district and the Kasargod taluk in South Kanara district of the erstwhile Madras State. At the same time Travancore-Cochin lost Kanyakumari, part of the Trivandrum district and Shencottah, part of the Quilon district, to Madras State. However, the net area of the State increased by about two-thirds after the reorganization of the State. Prior to the formation of Kerala as a separate State, Travancore-Cochin was administratively divided into four districts, while Malabar was a single district. At the time of integration, Malabar was broken up into three districts. Subsequently, during 1957 two new districts, viz., Alleppey and Ernakulam were carved out of the territory belonging to Trichur, Kottayam and Quilon. The State, therefore, now comprises nine districts. The total length of the State from its northern extremity to the southern tip is about 360 miles. But its width is nowhere more than 75 miles.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

1.3 The State territory may be broadly classified into three natural sub-divisions, the highland, the midland and the lowland. Western Ghats which range along the eastern border of the State form the highland. This is mostly a mountainous and rocky terrain ranging in height from 3,000 ft. to 8,000 ft. Anamudi, the highest peak of the Western Ghats (8,837 ft.) is located in the Kottayam district. The highland is thickly forested in its upper ranges, while in the lower ranges the forests are interspersed with plantations.

1.4 On the western fringe of the State are the lowlands which stretch along the coastal plain. Coconut palms, which cover most of this area, lend a richness to the landscape of the region. The soil in this plain is sandy. Coir-making and fishing are the two main occupations. Sandwiched between the lowland and the highland

[1] Excluding the Union Territories.

[2] *Statistical Outline of Kerala State*, Department of Statistics, Government of Kerala.

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133 [24] is the undulating terrain of the midland with laterite soil. This middle region is rich in agricultural produce ; paddy, tapioca, spices and cashewnut being some of the main crops of this area.

Climate and Rainfall

132 1.5 The same diversity which characterizes the physical features of the State, also occurs in case of the climatic conditions. Whereas the highland has a cool and bracing climate throughout the year, the plains are hot and humid. However, the range of variation in temperature is very narrow, the normal limits being 80°–90°F.

1.6 The average level of annual rainfall is quite high being in the neighbourhood of 96 inches. In fact only Konkan and Malabar–South Konkan region with 109 inches and 121 inches surpass Kerala in the annual volume of rainfall. Since Kerala is fortunate in getting precipitation both from the south-west and the north-east monsoons, the rainfall is fairly spread out over the year. January to April are practically the only months which are completely dry. Moreover, annual variations in rainfall are also comparatively low. The co-efficient of mean deviation of annual rainfall is only 6.5 which is lower than that of all the other States, except Assam (Table 1).[1] Draughts are, naturally, rare.

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

133 1.7 The influence of geological formation and geographical features on the economic structure and the growth possibilities varies from region to region. However, some of these stand out distinctly in the case of Kerala. The high mountainous wall of the Western Ghats and its close proximity to the sea is responsile for the heavy and regular rainfall which this State receives. The high characteristic rainfall, in turn, is responsible for a number of features of this State. The large number of high value yielding plantation crops and the rich forest growth owe their existence to the rainfall and the suitable climatic conditions found in the Western Ghats. The abundant rainfall has also provided Kerala with a large number of rivers. These are the storehouse of water resources—one of the chief assets of Kerala. There are 44 rivers in addition to a much larger number of small rivulets and streams. Forty-one of these rivers are west flowing and yield a total run off of 2,500 T.M.C. ft.[2] This is as high as 5 per cent of India's total water potential, whereas the total area of Kerala is only about 1.2 per cent of the area of India.

1.8 Since the Western Ghats are in close proximity of the sea coast, most of the rivers are also very short, the average length being only 40 miles. Only four rivers, viz., Beypore, Bharatapuzha, Periyar and Pamba are more than 100 miles in length. Although the rivers are small, they carry sizable flows and these provide the State with rich irrigation potential.

[text continues on p.4]

[1] Table 1 refers to the States as they existed before the reorganization. The conclusions, strictly speaking, refer to only Travancore-Cochin. However, they are broadly true of Kerala as a whole also.

[2] T.M.C. ft.—Thousand Million Cubic Feet.

Source: *Water Resources of Kerala*, PWD, Government of Kerala.

[13] *[Table 1, appearing on p. 269 of the text, has not been processed -- Analyst]

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against the all-India average of 7.5 acres; and over 60 per cent of the landholdings in Travancore-Cochin area are less than one acre in size.

1.31 The high pressure of population also reveals itself in an urge to push along the margin of cultivable area as far as possible. This is shown by the fact that the proportion of net sown area (45.25 lakh acres) to total area of the State was as high as 47.16 per cent against 39 per cent for the whole of India in 1956. The higher proportion assumes even a greater significance in view of the fact that forests cover over 25 per cent of the total area of Kerala (all-India—18%).

1.32 The agricultural labourers form a very high proportion of the agricultural population (Kerala 39%: India 17.5%), and the extent of under-employment among them is also one of the highest in India. The number of days of employment per agricultural labourer in Kerala was only 170 days per year[1], the lowest in the whole of India.

1.33 A deterioration in the position of the agricultural labourers is shown by the decline in the average annual income of agricultural labour households between 1951 and 1957. As can be seen from the table below, the average annual income of an agricultural labourer's household in Kerala declined from Rs. 486 in 1951 to Rs. 437 in 1956. This is a much steeper decline than observed in the case of the whole of India, presumably due to a higher rate of growth of population in Kerala than in India.

AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOME OF AGRICULTURAL LABOUR HOUSEHOLDS

	Kerala (Rs.)	*India* (Rs.)
1950-51	486	447
1956-57	437	437

Source: *Second Report of the Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee.*

Consumption Pattern

1.34 The level of consumption expenditure per head is a good indicator of the standard of living prevailing in any region. Table 5[2] gives a comparative picture of the pattern of consumption expenditure for the rural areas of Travancore-Cochin[3] and India. As may be seen, the average monthly consumption expenditure in Kerala (Rs. 18.64) is lower than that in all-India (Rs. 21.44), indicating a somewhat lower standard of living in the State.

1.35 The break-up of total expenditure into different items of consumption reveals some interesting points. The expenditure on foodgrains, milk and milk products is not only absolutely lower in Kerala but even as a proportion of total expenditure, it is considerably below the all-India average. On the other hand, meat, egg, fish and 'other food' absorb quite a high proportion of consumption expenditure in Kerala. These differences reflect the relative scarcity of foodgrains

[1] *Report of the Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee.*

[2] The data is compared for Travancore-Cochin and India (1952) because figures for Kerala State are not available. However, the conclusions are likely to be broadly true of Kerala also.

3 [see p 272, category 11b -- Analysis]

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Imports and Exports

1.53 Reference has already been made to the fact that Kerala is very much of an exchange economy. On the one hand it has to import a substantial part of its foodgrain requirements from the other parts of India. No exact estimates of total import of foodgrains into the State are available. The total amount of rice arriving in Kerala by train was 3.8 lakh tons during 1958 and 4.8 lakh tons during 1959.[1] This does not, however, include imports by roads or by the sea. In addition to foodgrains, almost all the industrial raw materials like coal, alumina, iron and steel, salt, etc., are obtained from the other parts of India.

1.54 On the other hand, Kerala also contributes substantially to India's export trade. As may be seen from Table 6, the total value of goods exported from the ports of Kerala to the other parts of the world is roughly Rs. 55 crores per annum, but the figure has been rising over the last few years. This is quite a substantial amount, being about 10 per cent of the overall foreign exchange earnings of India. Since this State occupies only 1.2 per cent of the total area of India, in relation to its area it may be claimed to be eight to nine times more productive in terms of its foreign exchange earnings than the whole of India.

1.55 The main export commodities of Kerala are listed in Table 6. It will be seen that the three major items which contribute about 75 per cent of total foreign exchange earnings of Kerala are tea, cashewnuts and coir and coir products. Except for fish, prawns and ilmenite, all other exportable commodities originate in the agricultural sector.

1.56 Whereas exports of most of the commodities have been rising, the trend in the case of coir, pepper and ginger has not been a promising one. Of these three commodities, pepper shows the most serious decline in foreign exchange earnings. In physical quantity the export of pepper has not declined much. It was 3,3 lakh cwts. in 1951-52 and 3.2 lakh cwts. in 1958-59. The decline in foreign exchange earnings from the export of pepper has been due to a drastic fall in the world price of pepper. The crash in prices has, in turn, been primarily due to a large increase in the production of pepper in other competing countries like Indonesia, Sarawak and Malaya. Similarly, in case of ginger and coir products no preceptible rise in exports has taken place due to competitive pressure in the foreign markets.

Unemployment

1.57 According to the Census of 1951, Kerala had a working force[2] of 4.54 million persons out of a total population of 15 million, giving a participation ratio (i.e., working force divided by total population) of 33.5 per cent. Since a participation rate of the order of 33.5 per cent is one of the lowest in the whole of India, it gives a fair indication of the very high degree of unemployment prevalent in Kerala. A low participation rate reflects the lack of adequate opportunities for gainful employment. These conclusions are borne out by the results of an unemployment

[1] *Economic Review of Kerala*, 1959: Government of Kerala.

[2] Working Force is equal to the sum of earning dependents and self-supporting persons. For a detailed note see Appendix 3.

Chapter 3

Animal Husbandry

23 ANIMAL HUSBANDRY IN Kerala is poorly developed. It stands in sharp contrast to the well-developed agricultural sector. With the exception of poultry, low livestock productivity marks all aspects of animal husbandry. The milk yield in the State [234] is among the lowest in the country. The total production of milk in Kerala in 1956 has been estimated at 1.82 lakh tons,[1] which works out to a per capita production of 1.3 ozs. as against the minimum of 10 ozs. per capita recommended by the Nutritional Advisory Committee of the Indian Council of Medical Research. This is also true [45] of yield of meat from sheep and goat. Consequently, the contribution of animal husbandry to the State income is comparatively low. During 1957-58 the net contribution of livestock to State income was Rs. 12.2 crores, that is, only 3.3 per cent of the State income while for all-India it was about 8 per cent.

Livestock Population

23 3.2 According to the 1956 Census of livestock, Kerala had a total livestock population of 4,168,000. This consisted of 2,510,000 cattle; 488,000 buffaloes; 97,820 sheep; 113,711 pigs; 956,000 goats, fowls and ducks. The number of cows and she- [171] buffaloes in milk per thousand of human population was very low at 30, while the same was as high as 148 in Madhya Pradesh, 123 in Punjab, 150 in Rajasthan (all-India 80). Other major heads of livestock in the same year were sheep (97,820) and pigs (113,711).

3.3 In 1956 there were 838,000 working cattle in the State (Table 20). The significant fact about this is the high proportion of buffaloes to the total working cattle. The buffaloes constituted about one-third of the draught animals. The corresponding [492] all-India proportion in the same year was only 9 per cent. Buffaloes are popular in Kerala as draught animals, because of their superior draught capacity and greater suitability for the puddled type of cultivation. This has an important bearing on the formulation of the future breeding policy.

3.4 Between the Census of 1951 and 1956 the livestock population rose by over 17 per cent in the State as against only 4.8 per cent for the entire country. There has been an all round increase under all the major heads except pigs (—3.6%) and sheep [114] (—77%). A large increase in the livestock and poultry population may be partly due to a higher level of reporting in the Census of 1956 over the previous Census.

[113] [1] *Indian Livestock Statistics, 1953-54 to 1958-59*, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Government of India.

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part of poultry population still consists of the indigenous types despite the introduction of high yielding exotic breeds such as Rhode Island Reds and White Leghorns in the early thirties. The local breeds give 50 to 60 eggs a year, while the average by the White Leghorn and Rhode Island Reds in the Government farm is 186 and 172 eggs respectively.[1] This can convey some idea of the magnitude of unexploited potential in the poultry industry.

3.18 Commercial poultry-rearing as a subsidiary occupation by the farmers has come to be recognized as the quickest and the easiest way of increasing farm incomes and providing employment to the under-employed. In view of these advantages, poultry industry has a special appeal in Kerala. It has been estimated by some experts that through replacement of indigenous birds with the exotic ones, the contribution from this sub-sector to the total State income could be more than doubled. This would be possible in less than five years, provided the pullets of desired types are made available to the farmers in adequate numbers at a low cost. The State should strive to achieve this by opening a large number of poultry extension centres. It is suggested that by the end of 1965-66 there should be at least one poultry extension centre in each Community Development Block. During the Third Plan, 143 additional centres may be opened and all these should work in close association with the block cooperatives. An investment of Rs. 35.75 lakhs would be needed to start the proposed centres.

3.19 Duck-rearing is done only on a small scale in the State in spite of the fact that conditions in most parts of Kerala are very well suited for commercial duck-keeping. Vast inland water resources and the abundant fauna in them is an ideal condition for large scale commercial duck-rearing. There is good demand for duck products particularly in Calcutta and Ceylon but this export potential could be developed only when the fowls are bred in sufficiently large number. It is, therefore, suggested that this potential should be fully exploited and the State should take adequate steps in the matter. In order to make the programme economical, some of the poultry development blocks may include multiplication of suitable duck breeds for distribution. Efforts may be made to select the best from the local birds and rear them for producing pullets for distribution.

Rearing of Goats

3.20 Goat-rearing under stall-fed conditions is customary in Kerala. This is quite contrary to the practice found in other parts of the country, where the goats are let out during the major part of the day for free browsing. Rearing of goats, as it is practised in Kerala, does not lead to dangers such as suppression of vegetation, crop destruction, etc.

3.21 Goats are reared both for milk and meat. The average milk yield per goat is low, 40 lbs. per annum, as against the all-India average of 127 lbs. (Table 16). This is due to poor management and general malnutrition, but could be easily raised to the all-India level with improved feeding and better care. As a matter of fact it is not unusual to find goats yielding as high as 400 to 500 lbs. of milk in urban households and this is due to better management.

[1] *Administration Report of the Animal Husbandry Department*, 1957-58, Government of Kerala, 1958.

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*433 246 3.25 The supply of succulent green fodder throughout the year also needs to be improved. The farmers should be induced to grow leguminous and perennial fodders like elephant and napier grass in the field corners or on waste lands. Distribution of seeds and cuttings to the farmers and demonstration of fodder cultivation on the fields of cultivators would go a long way in improving the production of green fodder. Municipalities and panchayats may also organize fodder farms for utilizing sewage and city compost.

*433 234 3.26 The development measures and aids proposed here, when implemented, would increase the output of animal husbandry products. Proper feeding of cattle and buffaloes can bring about an immediate increase of about 50 per cent in the production of milk.[1] Egg production may increase by over 100 per cent of the present output. Similar increases may be expected in other items too. This would give rise to the problem of suitable utilization of the additional output. Surprisingly enough, even the existing production is not being suitably utilized. For instance, even though milk output in the State is very low and there is an acute scarcity of fluid milk in the urban areas, as much as 41 per cent of the milk is processed into ghee.[2] In a State like Kerala which has a shortage of milk, it would have been more appropriate to consume the maximum possible amount of milk in a fluid state rather than in the form of milk products, since fluid milk is more wholesome and the processing of [442] milk partly destroys its vital nutritional content. This situation is due to lack of purchasing power with the rural people together with absence of facilities to market the milk in the urban areas. Since milk is a highly perishable commodity, the next best course for producers to follow in such a situation is to process it into the comparatively non-perishable ghee. But this is a wasteful process and the profits are also low.

*433 235 442 3.27 It is also gathered that 15 to 25 per cent of the total egg production in the State is wasted by breakage and spoilage due to defective and inadequate marketing facilities. Unless adequate and prompt measures are taken to remove drawbacks in the marketing system, the measures proposed here cannot be expected to yield full benefits and the producers cannot be expected to take a sustained interest in these. The solution to this problem lies in providing at least some of these facilities, the most urgent being the organization of marketing and processing facilities and services for dairy and poultry products.

DAIRY DEVELOPMENT

*433 234 3.28 Dairy development on scientific lines is a pressing need. This was a neglected field prior to the Second Plan. During the Second Plan, however, dairy development received some attention. Two schemes for processing 150 maunds of milk per day, one each in Trivandrum and Calicut, were taken up during the Second Plan. Each

[113] [1] *Third Five Year Plan, Draft Outline*, Government of Kerala, 1960.

[2] In 1956 the total production of milk in Kerala was 4,940 thousand maunds, of this 2,332 thousand maunds (47%) were consumed in the fluid state and 2,020 thousand maunds (41%) converted into ghee.

[113] (SOURCE: *Indian Livestock Statistics, 1953-54 to 1955-56*: Issued by the Economic and Statistical Adviser, Ministry of Food and Agriculture).

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MINERAL RESOURCES: SIZE OF DEPOSITS AND EXTRACTION COST

6.5 In the following pages the importance of the mineral resources, the size of the deposits, costs of extraction—and allied factors, as they affect the industrialization programmes for Kerala, are discussed at some length.

Ilmenite

6.6 Foremost among the mineral resources of the State are the beach sand deposits in Quilon district which contain large concentrations of heavy minerals like ilmenite, monazite, rutile, sillimanite and zircon. Some of the ilmenite is of inferior quality due to leucoxenization, particularly along the Neendakara—Azhiyikkal bar.

6.7 The heavy mineral occurrences are of three types:

(*i*) Back beach sand dunes, which form a wasting asset.
(*ii*) Beach washings, which are renewed seasonally during the monsoons.
(*iii*) Sand bar.

In general, the beach washings have a higher content of ilmenite and other heavy minerals than the dunes and the sand bar. The extent of the variations in this respect may be seen in the table below:

	Beach washing (*Per cent*)	*Dunes* (*Per cent*)	*Sand Bar* (*Per cent*)
Ilmenite	75/78	60/70	40
Other heavy minerals	15/20	10/25	—
Quartz	around 50	10/15	60

6.8 Of these, the dune deposits are rapidly being used up; and as for the washings, it is not possible to predict the quantities that are likely to be available from time to time. The main reliance for ilmenite has, therefore, to be placed on the sand bar, the total reserves from which are estimated at 34.08 million metric tons.[1] Another estimate places the reserves at 50 million tons. In addition, there are a few minor occurrences in the lake deposits, and in the interior of the country beyond 500 feet of the shoreline.

6.9 At present, however, nearly half the requirements of raw sand come from the washings and the other half from the dunes. The collection of raw sand is done through contractors who supply the sand to the mineral companies. The dune sand is worked manually with a wooden scraper and the pools are very often not backfilled. Beach washings are merely scraped off the beach wherever they accumulate. The cost of the raw sand from these sources works out to nearly Rs. 8 a ton.[2]

[1] *Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy*, Proceedings of the Second International Conference, Geneva, 1958, p. 106.
[2] *Quartz sand at Pallipuram*—pits mouth value Rs. 1.50 a ton.

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investment for this will be about Rs. 5 lakhs and additional employment for 350 persons.

Graphite

6.40 This mineral occurs in the form of disseminated grains, stringers and thin veins in surface laterites and the crystalline rocks underneath, mainly charnockitic and associated types. While the disseminated grains occur in charnockitic rocks, the worthwhile occurrences appear to be confined to the area of leptynites.[1]

6.41 Surface occurrences of graphite are known to occur in Kerala at a number of places, viz., Plachikuzhi, Nellimood, Narical, Ozhupara, Karipur, Perumpallimuzhi and Vellanad in Nedumangad taluk, Puliyarakonam and Chenagalloor in Neyyattinkara taluk and in various other isolated localities in Trivandrum district. The occurrences are being investigated geo-physically using electrical methods without appreciable success. This is probably due to the electrical anomalies being marked by the laterite host rock. Perhaps geo-chemical methods may prove more fruitful.

6.42 This mineral was mined in Kerala between 1898 and 1911 by the Morgan Crucible Company, altogether 35,000 tons of material being won. Consequent upon the discovery of graphite in Madagascar, operations ceased in Kerala. The most productive mine was at Vellanad. Recently operations were started at Aukulam on a small scale, but were suspended shortly thereafter. The production has been negligible. The prime need in the near future will be to have a more detailed prospecting on the lines suggested.

Iron Ore

6.43 Quartz-magnetite bodies are reported from various localities. In all these cases, the top of these bodies is laterized and often very rich in iron. However, within a few feet the iron content decreases very appreciably.

6.44 The Nanminda occurrence (Pookunnu Hill) is probably the largest one. It would be necessary to explore this area in detail, possibly with core drills before any reasonable conclusion can be drawn. The ore body is steep dipping and will have to be won by underground mining, and further, magnetite concentrate obtained. All this would make the prospect very dear when compared to other iron ore occurrences elsewhere in the country being currently exploited. Further, the possibility of establishing a pig iron plant based either on low-shaft furnaces or electrical furnace techniques, is fraught with difficulties because of the non-availability of coke or lignite and fluxing material within the State.

Limeshell Deposits

6.45 Even though no important horizon of limestone is found in the State, limeshell is found to occur in the various backwaters and also in the estuaries of some

[1] I.C. Chacko: *A Sketch of the Geology of Travancore.*

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of the rivers. The best known among these is that of Vembanad lake; other less important occurrences are in the estuaries of the Kadalundi and Korapuzha rivers, Kozhikode district and Cranganore lake. Only a few of these tracts have been prospected so far. A systematic exploration programme should, therefore, be initiated in all the backwater and estuarine tracts.

6.46 The deposits in Vembanad lake were surveyed by the Travancore Cement Company in 1946. There was no layer of limeshell as such, but it occurred amidst sands and clays, the total thickness of the mixed deposits varying from 1-7 feet. Reserves as estimated then were 3 million tons.

6.47 In addition, in the estuary of the Kadalundi river 400,000 to 500,000 tons of limeshell are estimated to be available in an area of 300 acres.[1] About 100,000 tons of material is also likely to be available from the lower reaches of the rivers Pullut and Thathapally which drain into the Cranganore lake.[2]

6.48 These limeshell deposits provide a raw material of very high purity and which is eminently suitable for use in the chemical industry and in the manufacture of white cement.

6.49 The present production is mainly from Kottayam and Alleppey districts, where the Vembanad lake deposits are exploited. Small quantities are also won from the Kadalundi and Korapuzha estuaries. Details of production available for 1959 are given below:

District	*Quantity* (Metric tons)	*Value* (Rs.)
Alleppey	9,098	76,342
Kottayam	86,309	696,333
Kozhikode	500 to 1,000	N.A.

6.50 Excepting small quantities sent to the adjoining States from Kozhikode district, the State's output is consumed within the State. The cement company consumes 70,000 tons of shells a year for producing 50,000 to 60,000 tons of grey cement. About 26,000 tons a year are used in lime-burning of which 25,000 tons come from the Vembanad lake.

6.51 Other limeshell utilizing industries which are under active consideration are a sand-lime brick factory at Pallathara with a capacity of 44,000 bricks a day and a calcium carbide factory at Chingavanam with a capacity of 10,000 tons a year. Both these would use shells from Vembanad lake and their annual requirements would be 8,500 tons and 10,000 tons respectively.

6.52 The total annual requirement during 1961--66 would thus be 108,500 tons of shells from the Vembanad lake. In view of the fact that the cement factory has been in existence for the last 11 years and has already consumed about a third of the original reserve of 3 million tons, proposals for new limeshell-based industries in the same area introduce problems regarding assured reserves of raw materials and their conservation.

[113]

[1] *Administration Report of the Geological Department*, Government of Kerala, 1958-59, pp. 3-4.
[2] Ibid pp. 3-4.

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the cost of generation as estimated at present would rarely exceed 2 nP per unit. As against this, the cost per unit of thermal power is estimated to vary between 6 nP to 10 nP for stations which are far from coal fields, as would be the case if Kerala were to go in for thermal generation. Table 35[2] presents some factual data regarding the cost of hydro-power generation.

7.20 Development of thermal power resources sometimes becomes necessary as a stabilizer for fluctuations in generating capacity of hydro dams caused by variations in the extent of rainfall. This problem does not arise in case of Kerala since a high level of rainfall which, in addition, is fairly well distributed over the year, is practically assured. As pointed out in another chapter, the co-efficient of mean deviation for annual rainfall in the case of Kerala is one of the lowest in the whole of India.

7.21 On account of these factors, electric energy from hydro resources would continue to occupy a predominant place in Kerala. The possibility of generating nuclear power within the foreseeable future can almost be ruled out for Kerala. Investment in nuclear power stations is of the order of Rs. 1,800 to Rs. 2,500 per kW of installed capacity, which is higher than those for thermal and hydro stations. Since Kerala has plenty of untapped hydro-power potential, the question of using nuclear energy does not arise.

DEMAND FOR AND SUPPLY OF POWER

7.22 The simultaneous maximum demand, as recorded on the State electricity system, reached a peak of 94 MW during September, 1960. Over and above this, purchase from Madras State for Kerala system was about 8.6 MW and from Kerala to Madras was about 2.6 MW. So the net draw from the Madras system during September, 1960, was of the order of 6 MW. Hence the latest recorded demand on the State may be taken to be of the order of 100 MW during Sepember, 1960, as against the available firm capacity of 84.5 MW.

7.23 In this context, an independent forecast may be attempted here on the basis of projections for industrial output made in the chapter on Industries. Factory sector is the main industrial consumer of electricity accounting for roughly 65 per cent of energy generated. The net output of factory industry is projected to increase from Rs. 24.4 crores in 1960-61 to Rs. 89.2 crores in 1970-71. In 1955-56, power consumption by industries corresponding to net factory output of Rs. 18.40 crores was 224 million kWh. In other words 1.24 units of electricity were used to produce one rupee worth of net output in industries. The corresponding ratio for the country was 0.8 kWh/Rupee. The relatively higher coefficient in Kerala reflects the more power-intensive industrial structure. This is mainly due to the location of aluminium and other electro-chemical industries in Kerala.

7.24 According to NCAER's projections[1], the power intensity of industries may be expected to increase both as a result of the spread of power-using equipment and

[1] *Demand for Energy in India* (1960—75), NCAER.

[2] [Table 35, appearing on p. 293 of the text, has not been processed — Ed.]

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transport activities of the State. About 240,000 tons of imports and 310,000 tons of exports of the State are handled, mostly in stream, and carried to and from the port by the inland waterway system. The role of the port and of the inland waterway system as a feeder in the transport activity of the State is likely to grow along the lines outlined in a later section.

8.33 Studies made by the Intermediate Ports Committee show that Neendakara which is six miles north of Cochin, can, if developed, serve the industries in the Quilon-Kundara area to the extent of an annual traffic of 400,000 tons comprising cashewnuts, ilmenite, etc. Koilthottam, at present handling the ore traffic, may stabilize its present traffic. Industrial developments around Calicut, such as the rayon pulp industry expected to come up at Mavur, may push the traffic at that port to over half a million tons by 1971.[1]

8.34 Several improvements were made at the Port of Cochin. With continuing increase in the import of oil, two tanker berths had to be constructed at a cost of Rs. 17.4 lakhs at Ernakulam channel to ensure safety and quicker turn-round. The pipe-line leading to the shore installations was commissioned in 1956. Three of the four additional wharf berths provided with crane, railway track, transit sheds, warehouses, open stacking space and other facilities at an estimated cost of Rs. 2.96 crores are almost ready.

8.35 Total expenditure on the development of minor ports of the State was expected to be Rs. 22.6 lakhs in the Second Plan.

8.36 Pending more detailed information regarding actual investment expenditure between 1956-57 and 1960-61, it may be estimated that the investment in the State in the Second Plan on transport–railways, roads, bridges, buses, inland waterways and ports, was about Rs. 11.14 crores. It appears that in the first four years of the Plan the actual expenditure was about Rs. 7.18 crores, i.e., about 64.5 per cent of the financial allocations had been spent. In the Third Plan period and in the Fourth, every effort must be made to fulfil as nearly as possible the physical and financial targets, as transport arrangements must be ready in advance to receive the anticipated volume of traffic without creating bottlenecks.

AIR TRAFFIC

8.37 The airports at Trivandrum and Cochin are served daily by a clockwise and an anti-clockwise service touching (*a*) Madras, Trichy, Madurai, Trivandrum, Cochin and (*b*) Coimbatore, Bangalore, Madras and Cochin. Cochin is also served by a daily service from Bombay *via* Belgaum. About 400 passengers travel every month by each of these services. About 350 passengers travel from Cochin to Belgaum and Bombay every month and 70 between Bombay and Trivandrum *via* Cochin or Bangalore. The prospects of this traffic are being studied at present by the National Council

[1] For particulars of a detailed assesment of traffic prospects at Calicut, Beypore vide *Report of Traffic Survey of Beypore*, NCAER, 1962.

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Chapter 11

Manpower and Employment

PART I: MANPOWER

ONE OF THE chief problems of Kerala today is the vast unemployed section of its manpower. An appraisal of the analysis of employment prospects, therefore, becomes very important. The extent of urbanization, sex distribution, the size of the labour force, its rate of participation, and occupational distribution—all these are, therefore, studied in detail in what follows.

Urbanization

11.2 Progress in urbanization in Kerala is less as compared to the country as a whole. Of the total population of Kerala, 13.5 per cent live in urban areas against 17.38 per cent for the whole of India according to the Census of 1951. The degree of urbanization has been progressively increasing over the past few decades. This is shown by the table below which gives the relative rates of growth of the urban and rural population during the period 1921–51. As may be seen, urban population has been growing at a faster rate than the rural population.

MEAN DECENNIAL GROWTH RATE OF POPULATION

(Per Cent)

	1921–30	*1931–40*	*1941–50*
Urban	27.18	23.26	29.38
Rural	22.85	16.53	20.12
TOTAL	*23.31*	*17.27*	*21.28*

N.B.: It may be noted that these figures pertain only to the old Travancore-Cochin State.

SOURCE: *Census of India*, Volume XIII, Travancore-Cochin (Part I, Subsidiary Table).

11.3 During the last decade, that is, 1951–61, urbanization seems to have increased at a somewhat faster rate than in the whole of India. The proportion of population living in urban areas of Kerala grew from 13.05 per cent in 1951 to 15.03 per cent in 1961, whereas in the case of all-India the proportion registered an increase from 17.38 per cent to only 17.84 per cent.[1] In view of the plans for a faster growth of industries,

[1] As pointed out in Chapter 1, too much reliance should not be placed on a comparison of urbanization between 1951 and 1961 since the definition of urban areas during the two Census operations has not been the same.

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some of the concepts used. Working force has already been defined as comprising all those persons who take part in gainful economic activity. Labour force, on the other hand, includes all those members of the population who are already engaged in gainful activity and those who are willing to take up work, generally at the current level of wages. The difference between labour force and the working force gives the magnitude of those who are unemployed and are actively seeking work.

11.24 Although these concepts are quite clear, according to definitions, their application in the context of a backward economy like that of Kerala is fraught with difficulties, which are by now quite well known. The seasonal and non-institutionalized nature of economic activity over a wide sphere of the economy creates problems in the way of precise quantification of unemployment. Statistical accuracy of the figures discussed below is naturally subject to these limitations.

11.25 The main source of information on this subject is the survey of unemployment for Travancore-Cochin and Malabar region carried out by the Statistics Department of the State. The survey was carried out in 1954-55 for the Travancore-Cochin region and in 1956-57 for Malabar. In the absence of figures for the same year, the combined results for the two different years are taken, by and large, to be representative of the situation as it existed during 1955-56.

11.26 Table 60 gives the combined results of the two surveys. According to concepts used in the survey, the total population has been divided into eight activity groups given in column I of Table 60. Persons falling in category 4, 6, 7, that is, (*i*) those having regular employment (*ii*) casual workers and (*iii*) the people in search of employment, make up the labour force. Category (7) includes the unemployed persons. The under-employed section of the population is covered by category (6), i.e., the casual workers.

11.27 According to this survey, labour force as a proportion of total population comes to 32.5 per cent (all-India : 42.2%[1]). The difference between labour force—population ratio as worked out from this survey and that revealed by the NSS for all-India is primarily due to a difference in the concepts used. The Unemployment Survey of Kerala does not include those below 15 years in the labour force. This assumption is quite justified in the case of a State like Kerala where most of the children go to school. In 1955-56, 14.1 lakh children were registered on the rolls of primary schools. These form about 22 per cent of all the children below 15 years of age. Roughly the same proportion of children below 15 years belong to the labour force in the whole of India (according to the NSS Report). It may, therefore, be concluded that there are only stray cases of children below 15 years belonging to the labour force in Kerala.

11.28 Another way of working out the ratio between the labour force and the total population in the State is to calculate the working force on the basis of Census data and to add to it the number of unemployed persons as obtained from the Unemployment Survey in Kerala. On the basis of the participation rate of 33.5 per cent, working force during 1956 comes out to 30.3 lakh persons[2]. The number of

[1] National Sample Survey : *Report on Employment and Unemployment.*

[2] The manner of working out the working force for 1956 is explained in Appendix I to Chapter I.

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Supply of Labour

11.36 In addition to the current back-log of unemployment, the two sources of future labour supply would be : (*i*) growth of population, (*ii*) changes in labour force population ratio. Of these, by far the most important source will be the growth of population. Long run changes in the labour force population ratio are difficult to predict. For the comparatively short period of next 10 years, this ratio may be assumed to remain constant at about 37.9 per cent or so.

11.37 A look at the population figures in Kerala over the last few decades shows that this State has witnessed a higher rate of growth of population than India as a whole and that during 1941–51 it was higher (22.82%) than in any other State.[1] There are indications to believe that the rate of growth of population during the coming decade may not be so fast. The following table gives the projections for growth of population[2] and the labour force arising out of it during the period 1956–71.

GROWTH OF POPULATION—PROJECTIONS FOR 1956–71

Year	*Population* (million)	*Increase in Population over the previous five years* (million)	*Increase in the labour force (Labour force population Ratio = 37.9 per cent)* (million)
1956	15.01	..	..
1961	16.68	1.67	.633
1966	18.34	1.66	.629
1971	20.12	1.78	.674
			1.936
Backlog of unemployment in 1956			.660
			2.596
Less jobs created during the Second Plan			.200[3]
Additional labour supply during 1961–71			2.396

[3] *Employment Trends and Prospects*—Planning Commission. Approximate estimates of employment created during the Second Plan may also be derived from investment figures. On this basis we get a smaller figure for employment generated during the Second Plan period. Public sector investment during the Second Plan was about Rs. 75 crores. Adding 50 per cent for private investment the total comes to Rs. 112.5 crores. Assuming that an investment of roughly Rs. 8,000 is required to create an additional job, the number of jobs created during the Second Plan comes to about 1.4 lakhs.

11.38 The above figures may be taken to be only rough approximations, since the projections of population and labour force ratios are based on certain assumptions. However, the magnitude of the problem is well illustrated by the fact that during the coming decade an additional 23.96 lakh jobs will have to be created if something approaching the standards of full employment has to be achieved. This figure is almost 50 per cent of the existing working force.

[1] *1961 Census*—Provisional Population figures.

[2] Based on NCAER population projections. It may be noted that the NCAER projections would have to be slightly modified in the light of the 1961 Census data. However, the extent of difference would not be so large as to make any substantial difference to our calculations.

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TABLE 10

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AREA AND PRODUCTION OF PRINCIPAL CROPS IN KERALA
(1950-51[a] AND 1958-59[b])

	Area under crops ('000 acres)		Percentage increase or decrease	Production of crops ('000 tons)		Percentage increase or decrease
	1950-51	1958-59		1950-51	1958-59	
Rice	1,901	1,894	— 0.36	715	939	+ 31.3
Jowar	6	4	— 33.3	3	7	+ 133.3
Ragi	11	12	+ 9.1	5	7	+ 40
Other millets	30	14	— 53.3	3	2	— 33.3
Total cereals	1,948	1,924	— 1.2	726	954	+ 31.4
Tur	7	21	+ 200	1	4	+ 300
Other pulses	23	89	+ 286.9	1	13	+1200
Total pulses	30	110	+ 266.6	2	17	+ 750
Cereals & pulses	1,978	2,034	+ 2.8	728	971	+ 33.3
Sugarcane	2	21	+ 950	4	35	+ 775
Ginger	30	22	— 26.7	10	7	— 30
Chillies	8	8		2	2	
Tobacco		1			..	
Groundnuts	28	33	+ 17.8	14	15	+ 7.1
Sesamum	8	50	+ 525	1	5	+ 400
Total oilseeds	36	83	+ 130.5	15	20	+ 33.3
Cotton	18	21	+ 16.6	6	7	+ 16.6
Tapioca	506	553	+ 11	1,500	1,569	+ 4.6
Total field crops	2,578	2,718	+ 5.4	2,265	2,869	+ 26.6
Black pepper	173	224	+ 29.5	18	24	+ 33.3
Cardamom	63	69	+ 9.5	1	1	
Rubber	132	246	+ 86.3	12,998	22,158	+ 70.4
Tea	92	98	+ 6.5	24,314	39,737	+ 62.0
Coffee	28	41	+ 46.4	2,951	6,961	+ 135.8

[113]

[a] *Agricultural Statistics of Reorganised States (1956)*, Government of India.
[b] Agricultural Department, Kerala.

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TABLE 14

THE NUMBER OF REGISTERED COFFEE ESTATES ACCORDING TO SIZE AND AREA AS ON THE 31ST JULY 1958

(Area in acres)

District	Below 5 acres		5 to 10		10 to 25		25 to 50		50 to 100		100 to 200		150 to 200		200 to 250		250 and above		Total	
	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area
Malabar	9,121	16,187	1,123	4,936	515	4,956	62	2,272	46	2,965	10	1,218	8	1,293	6	1,336	14	5,650	10,505	40,813
Kottayam	3,130	3,596	185	56	58	57	14	343	5	323	1	159	1	150	..		1	703	3,395	5,367
Cochin	5	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	125	3	561	2		1	330	15	1,016
Quilon	147	N.A.	2	N.A.	..	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	149	30

Source: *Eighteenth Annual Report, 1957-58*, Vol. IV., Coffee Board.

[13]
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TABLE 17

GROSS VALUE OF OUTPUT FROM ANIMAL HUSBANDRY IN KERALA

(Rs. lakhs)

Item	1955-56	1956-57	1957-58
Milk consumed as such	531	540	561
Other milk products	593	604	608
Beef	56	58	62
Buffalo flesh	18	19	20
Mutton	93	97	98
Hides and Skins	29	30	31
Bones and Horns	6	7	7
Eggs	84	121	136
Poultry	72	78	84
Dung	321	381	394
Increment in stock	96	113	116
Miscellaneous	4	4	3
GROSS VALUE OF OUTPUT	*1903*	*2052*	*2139*

SOURCE: *Regional Income of Kerala* (At current prices) 1955-56 to 1957-58: Government of Kerala (1960).

TABLE 18

LIVESTOCK POPULATION OF KERALA—MAJOR CATEGORIES, 1951 AND 1956

Category	Total		Percentage of increase (+) or decrease (—) in 1956 over 1951
	1951	1956	
Cattle	2,151,522	2,510,376	+ 16.7
Buffaloes	444,368	487,633	+ 9.7
Sheep	423,513	97,820	— 76.9
Goats	423,345	955,570	+ 125.7
Horses and Ponies	518	1,690	+ 226.2
Mules	14	2	— 85.7
Donkeys	689	1,415	+ 105.2
Pigs	117,932	113,711	— 3.6
TOTAL LIVESTOCK	*3,561,901*	*4,168,237*	+ *17.1*
Fowls	3,854,319	6,462,799	+ 67.6
Ducks	263,147	322,085	+ 26.2
Others	..	161	..
TOTAL POULTRY	*4,117,466*	*6,785,045*	+ *64.7*

SOURCE: *Statistical Outline of Kerala State, 1960.*

[Pp. 280-282 not Processed]

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TABLE 20

CATTLE AND BUFFALOES IN KERALA (CATEGORIES) 1956

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Categories	Cattle (in '000 numbers)	Buffaloes (in '000 numbers)	Total (in '000 numbers)
1. Males over 3 years	820	279	899
(i) Breeding	11	4	15
(ii) Working	571	268	839
(iii) Others	38	7	45
2. Females over 3 years	1008	143	1044
(i) Breeding			
(a) In milk	398	63	461
(b) Dry and not calves	577	65	642
(ii) Working	8	11	19
(iii) Miscellaneous	19	3	22
3. Young stock	814	94	1008
TOTAL	2536	515	3051

SOURCE: *Indian Livestock Statistics, 1953-54 to 1955-56*, Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

[113]

TABLE 21

NUMBER OF VETERINARY INSTITUTIONS IN KERALA STATE (1958-59)

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634

District	Hospitals	Dispensaries	Stockman's stations	Inspectors' stations
Trivandrum	5	3	..	..
Quilon	5	7	..	..
Alleppey	6	3	..	..
Kottayam	5	4	..	..
Ernakulam	9	12	..	..
Trichur	7	13	4	..
Palghat	5	8	..	8
Kozhikode	2	10	..	..
Cannanore	1	7	..	3
TOTAL	45	69	4	11

SOURCE: Director of Animal Husbandry, Trivandrum.

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342 From the portico, you go direct into a big hall in the middle of which is a big yard paved with granite; this yard is exposed to the sky. On one side of the hall—right or left—are situated two or three rooms, from one of which you are taken to upstairs rooms which are also connected with the portico. On the portico side of the hall are the kitchen, bath-room, and a few more rooms which are utilized for various purposes. In another place of the compound is an outhouse in which Brahmans are asked to perform worship.* Near this house is a tank and a well. The house itself possesses a well near it for the exclusive use of the inmates.

But educated Nayars now-a-days build their houses on different plans.

361 *Preliminary.*—Watakanchery is a Government division, rather than a true village, being marked out merely for convenience of revenue assessment. It stretches from east to west a distance of nearly four miles along the foot of a hill. A water-course which runs from east to west forms the northern boundary; the maximum distance from north to south is nearly a mile and a half. The whole area is 3,692'64 acres (nearly 5½ square miles). It is an area containing a few groups of houses intersected by paddy fields and "parambas," i.e., land on which paddy cultivation is not undertaken.

Watakanchery proper, or the town of Watakanchery, as it is called in the village accounts, is at the easternmost boundary of the Government village area and is the headquarters of the taluk containing all the public offices. Two tracts of land, one inhabited by Mappillas (Muhammadans) and another by Syrian Christians (locally known as Nasranees, i.e., Nazarenes) are included in the "town" of Watakanchery from the contiguous areas of the adjoining Government villages on the north and south respectively. Its area is 1½ square miles.

The Taluk of Talapilli contains 74 such "villages" divided solely for revenue purposes. In the "town" Brahmans live in great numbers, while the lower castes occupy the rest of the village area. This block I shall designate Watakanchery (T) and the whole area Watakanchery (V) in the following.

162 [179] 564 *Population.*—Watakanchery (T) has about 2,000 inhabitants; Watakanchery (V) about 4,000. Watakanchery (T) contains within its limits three religions—Hindus in the centre and Mappillas (Muhammadans) and Christians to the north and south, respectively. Among the Hindus the Brahmans form the majority in the "town," while there are a few "vocational" castes such as barbers, goldsmiths, etc., and a few Nayars. Though the term "castes" is in strictness to be applied to Hindus alone the Mappillas and Christians are regarded as two other castes. The Mappillas and the Christians cannot touch the Hindu caste-people without polluting them, while there are castes within the Hindu fold itself, such as carpenters, goldsmiths, masons, Cherumas (vide below), Eluvas, etc., who are kept at a distance of a specified number of feet by the higher castes. There is a full and interesting study of the tribes and castes in Mr. L. K. Anandakrishna Iyer's "Cochin Tribes and Castes." The Hindus however form the majority.

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[778] *[In Nayar houses, I am informed by Mr. L. K. Anandakrishna Iyer, this shrine is sacred to the cobra, to whom worship must be given by a Nambudri Brahman, as otherwise the Nayars are bitten. This belief may be the cause of the subjection imposed on Nayars by Nambudris, particularly in relation to Nayar women.—Ed.]